

ANATHEMA

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"OZYMANDIAS"

I met a traveller from an antique land
Who said: Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert... near them, on the sand,
Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown,
And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command,
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read
Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,
The hand that mocked them and the heart that fed;
And on the pedestal these words appear:
'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings;
Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!'
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare
The lone and level sands stretch far away.

*Percy Shelley
January 1818*

GUN CONTROL

There have been so many mass shootings in recent years that they rarely get national coverage unless they set a new record, precedent, or it is a slow news day. They have been on the rise to such a degree that the United States has been averaging one school-specific shooting a week. In the aftermath, wherever the shooting occurs, blame is always assigned to political agendas, religious radicalism, advanced weaponry, mental health, or whitewashed for the sake of maintaining order in a way that assigns no blame to "random" or "thoughtless" crimes – the latter being most often assigned to white male shooters. But the return to calls for gun control most disempower the marginalized and reinforce the same authority that murders with impunity.

Mass shootings are said to have begun with a white military veteran in Camden, NJ in 1949, who bought the Luger he used in Philadelphia, the day after he had felt scorned by a lover. The story is too familiar, but the idea that this was the first mass shooting ignores the massacres of indigenous people on this continent by white settler-colonialists that have contributed to Native American genocide (like the nearby Conestoga Massacre of 1763, at least some of which

[*"Gun Control" cont. on pg. 4]*

OF IRON FISTS AND VELVET GLOVES

On February 8th, Congress passed a budget bill to end the government shutdown that did not include protections for DACA recipients. This budget would not have been possible without Democratic participation – in the Senate, 37 out of 49 Democrats voted for the bill, along with 73 House Democrats. Efforts by Congress in the following week to pass a new bill on immigration failed due to pressure from Trump's administration. The fate of DACA now lies with the court system.

Democrats had put up an appearance of resistance to the bill, symbolized by minority leader Nancy Pelosi holding the floor for eight hours to rail against it. Pelosi could have gone all out and used her leverage to whip up Democrats' no votes, but chose not to. Despite the fact that, according to a Public Policy Polling/Center for American Progress poll, 58% of Americans wanted to include Dreamers as part of the deal to reopen the government, Democratic and Republican lawmakers colluded to ensure that this would not happen.

That means that what looks a lot like a new stage of an ethnic cleansing project by this settler colonial nation-

[*"Of Iron Fists..." cont. on pg. 8]*

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WHAT WENT DOWN

January 20: Anti-police feminists criticize the Women’s March’s liberal pro-police stance. A banner against white feminism and police is hung in Love Park. “Paying the state for your resistance march is not RESISTANCE in any shape or form.”

January 21: The Eagles’ victory leads fans to riot. ATMs are attacked, fires set, police fought, graffiti written. “Realizing that the soon to be victory of the Eagles was an ample time for us to strike back against the domination of civilization, the police, and the prison walls built by our own deteriorating mental, we met up with friends outside of Lincoln Financial field with the intention of freeing ourselves, albeit temporarily.”

Late January: Posters in solidarity with J20 defendants in West Philly.

February 4: Fascist “Kekistan” stickers are covered with antifa stickers.

February 4: The Eagles’ Super Bowl victory leads to rioting across the city. Stores are vandalized and looted, police are fought, fires set, and street lights uprooted. “We feel that it’s critical for anti-authoritarians to look for events such as this to plan attacks but also not to wait for them. This sports riot was perfect cover to carry out actions to temporarily liberate ourselves but these events are rare and we strongly believe that we must create our own spaces to act in however ways we see fit.”

February 5: Fascist posters promoting patriotic insurrection are removed and burned.

February: Anarchist graffiti in West Philly.

February: Gentrifying construction site sabotaged with glass etch and sugar in solidarity with anarchist prisoners. “And through the helpless complaints all we hear is, “but what can we do?” It feels so far gone already, like by the time we can see it it’s already in too deep. But it is not too far away from us. The developers’ and planners’ construction and machinery are right here in front of our faces, in our neighborhoods! We pass them everyday.”

February: Mural of a Confederate flag vandalized in northeast Philly. ★

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

This text is a reply to the article “Guilt” that was published in the last issue of Anathema.

The author of “Guilt” (January 2018) laments that “even among anarchists we still hear discussions framed in terms of morality, doing the right thing, and attempting to vanquish evil.” But why shouldn’t we think and speak this way? Reclaiming this language and insisting on its objectivity has always been a powerful tool in the anarchist’s conceptual toolbox.

Alexander Berkman denounced the phony “class morality” of capitalism and rejected compulsion of every kind (including “moral”) — yet at the same time, he could write that the social revolution would “enable the masses ... to rise to higher moral and spiritual levels,” and that the failure of the Russian Revolution was “to forget ethical values, to introduce practices and methods inconsistent with or opposed to the high moral purposes of the revolution”.

Yes, Emma Goldman summoned anarchists to “direct action against the invasive, meddlesome authority of our moral code,” and spat at “the spook of Morality” — but the real object of the attack was the “perverted conception of morality” that condemned women especially to servile squalor. This was of course the same woman whom Pietro Gori could call “a moral power”!

In “The Immorality of the State,” Mikhail Bakunin made his case “from the point of view of true morality,” not from any point of view that rejected morality as such. In “Anarchist Morality,” Peter Kropotkin rejected vigorously the morality of “the conqueror, the exploiter, the priest,” — not to abolish morality, but to restore that “natural law [of] solidarity” which “may be summed up in the words: ‘Do to others what you would have them do to you in the same circumstances.’” Or think again of the famously high moral standards of the Spanish anarchists. We could multiply examples ad nauseum. Virtually every classical anarchist thinker, and no doubt virtually every anarchist do-er in history and today, has understood anarchism as aiming at the human good and pursued it because it is right. Far from crippling us with guilt, a critical-but-still-robust sense of morality has propelled anarchists to action.

The author of “Guilt” is right to criticize capitalist, patriarchal, and other oppressive appropriations of the language of morality. But the solution cannot be to stop speaking about good and evil, justice and injustice, innocence and guilt. We certainly shouldn’t feel guilty for taking time off work; but (whatever he feels) the capitalist really is guilty of exploitation. Survivors of sexual assault rightly fight back against internalized guilt; and they are more empowered to do so when they can affirm that there really and objectively is a guilty party (the assailant). We deny that the state

Find ways to act in solidarity with strikers, union battles, and Amazon employees in general. Amazon delivery trucks serve every part of your town. Find out where they keep their lockers and store fronts. Whole Foods is Amazon. There are distribution and fulfillment centers on the outskirts of every major city. Their poisonous ecosystem is growing all around us, and we must hold them accountable for its negative impact on our lives. We must show Amazon that there is popular and widespread resistance everywhere they threaten.

Let’s take the initiative, let’s stop Amazon before it’s too late! There’s no time but now!

Share the results of your campaign in whatever way you see fit. You can email us anonymously at nohq2@protonmail.com

THE ONLY PLACE AMAZON SHOULD BUILD ITS NEW HEADQUARTERS IS IN THE NINTH CIRCLE OF HELL! ★

JOSEPH “JOE JOE” BOWEN

On February 21st, 1971, a Philadelphia police officer was shot and killed by a man named Joseph “Joe-Joe” Bowen. This was an early event in a series that lead to notoriety and celebration of Joe-Joe for the work he would do in prison.

Bowen had been part of the 30th and Norris Street Gang, that also counted Russel “Maroon” Shoatz as a member, when he caught a five year sentence. During that early imprisonment he became politicized and dedicated his life to liberation activities. It was only a week after he had been released that he ran into the officer that he killed. He allegedly escaped the scene in a stolen car only to be apprehended by cops at a garage on Umbria Street. After his capture and incarceration, Bowen became a Black Liberation Army combatant, defiant of authorities at every turn.

In 1973, Bowen and Philadelphia Five prisoner Fred “Muhammad Kafi” Burton assassinated Holmesberg prison’s warden and deputy warden as well as wounded the guard commander in retaliation for intense repression against Muslim prisoners in the facility.

Bowen and Burton created a fake pass that they gave to a rookie guard who was filling in for a regular guard at the prison. The pass indicated they were allowed to see Deputy Warden Fromhold. When they entered his office the two closed the door and attacked him as he sat at his desk, stabbing him several times. Warden Curran and another officer heard the commotion from across the hall and went to interfere, for which the Warden was also stabbed. They died at the prison and on their way to the hospital, respectively.

In October 28, 1981, Joe-Joe led a mass liberation attempt from the state’s largest prison at Graterford, just outside of Philadelphia, after arming other prisoners with two shotguns and two revolvers. Bowen and three others attempted to scale

the prison’s 40-foot wall and were stopped by a rifle shot from a guard tower. After returning fire they captured three guards and retreated into the prison kitchen, where they captured three kitchen employees and 29 inmates. Three other inmates joined in the action.

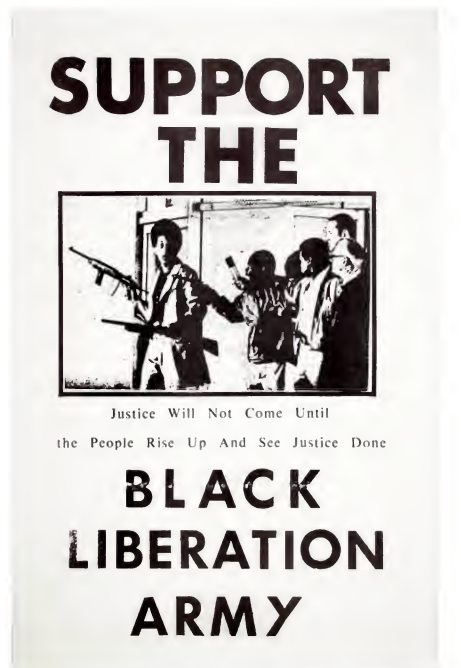
Bowen and the six others held off the prison’s guards, State Police and FBI for five days until an agreement was struck. In the end, the men were charged with assault, attempted escape, kidnapping and one other offense. Joe-Joe was sent to the Federal Prison in Marion, IL, where he met up with other political prisoners and prisoners of war such as Sundiata Acoli, Hanif Shabazz Bey and Ray Luc Levasseur.

Much of Joe-Joe’s time in prison has been spent in and out of control units, solitary confinement and other means of being isolated from the general prison population. However, he is legendary to many prisoners as a revolutionary. “I used to teach the brothers how to turn their rage into energy and understand their situations,” Bowen told the Philadelphia Inquirer in 1981. “I don’t threaten anybody. I don’t talk to the pigs. I don’t drink anything I can’t see through and I don’t eat anything that comes off a tray. When the time comes, I’ll be ready.”

With two life sentences, obvious political awareness, and significant abilities, it seemed he would never be released from tortuous solitary confinement. But as of last August, Joe-Joe was finally transferred into general population, after 40 years in solitary.

During his time in prison he has raised the consciousness of thousands of Pennsylvania prisoners through his powerful history and political/military education classes. Many of these prisoners become aware of his story just by arriving at Curran-Fromhold Correctional Facility, named after the warden and deputy killed in 1973. The park in Roxborough named for the cop that was killed should serve the same purpose, but short of that, let us continue to speak his name and contribute to his well being. ★

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**CLASS WAR ON BROAD STREET:
A REPORT BACK FROM THE 52ND
SUPER BOWL BOWL RIOTS IN PHILLY**

On February 4th, 2018, the Philadelphia Eagles stomped out the New England patriots in a classic expression of proletarian violence versus the statist symbol of a modern day “patriot.” Such highlights as known trump supporter and nerd Tom Brady getting dunked on will continue to inspire us. With this event in mind, our affinity group coordinated with other anarchists and anti-authoritarians in the weeks leading up to it to make sure that we all agreed to violently attack institutions and pigs using the sports celebration as cover. Fliers were posted all throughout the city calling for a loose “bird bloc” aka wear eagles gear and fuck shit up. We set the meeting point as city hall, leaving it vague and open to interpretation with the intention of autonomous groups coming together to perform their own actions. We felt this type of action would be more productive for this situation than an organized bloc. From everything we’ve seen so far, this is exactly what happened.

Decked out in Eagles gear, our crew used the cover of this celebration as an opportunity to attack what we view as the structures of domination that continue to keep us in chains. Instead of choosing specific targets, we recognize that with the oppressive structure of civilization, everything in the major business districts of a city, is a valid target. Hidden amongst thousands of eagles fans, we joyfully wandered the streets smashing, painting, and torching whatever we pleased. We also used this opportunity to violently assault police officers with a scattered volley of projectiles. For some of us, this was our first opportunity to physically strike back against the police with the aid of more experienced anti-cop militants. It was wonderful to see the way our friends eyes lit up with joy when they realized that they had all the tools they needed to fight back in ways they felt most comfortable.

We reached out other east coast anarchist crews to assure that we all got the opportunity to experience the fun of this attack, and as an opportunity to reconnect with friends we’ve made while traveling to actions in other cities. It was extremely refreshing both physically and mentally to share these moments of insurrection with people we don’t have the chance to revolt with in our everyday lives. We urge other insurrectionaries and revolutionaries to call upon friends in other places more often. Borders aren’t real and we shouldn’t let imaginary lines define our friendships.

We feel that it’s critical for anti-authoritarians to look for events such as this to plan attacks but also not to wait for them. This sports riot was perfect cover to carry out actions to temporarily liberate ourselves but these events are rare and we strongly believe that we must create our own spaces

to act in however ways we see fit. It is worth noting that the NFL is an extremely fucked up hyper-masculine, sexist, racist, oppressive, capitalist institution that profits off the bodily harm of people who, for the most part, grew up in working class neighborhoods. We are also disgusted by the way the state uses the super bowl as an opportunity to further occupy and militarize cities. We stand in full support of the folks in Minnesota holding it down with protest and direct action. Philly loves y’all. Keep up the good work.

We took these actions with the memories of the murders of David Jones, Trayvon Martin, Philando Castile, Scout Shultz, Laquan Mcdonald, Alexis Grigoropoulos, our Russian comrades being tortured, and everyone else who has been murdered, tortured, assaulted, or imprisoned by the state. We one day hope to see the structures of domination that keep us unfree as piles of ashes and distant memories.

Free Meek, The Move 9, Mumia, the remaining J20 defendants, and all political prisoners.
Fuck the Patriots, fuck the pigs, fuck 12.
To Amazon: Fuck you, theres plenty more where this came from. STAY OUT.
To all our friends who couldn’t be with us today: We love y’all.
Last of all “GO BIRDS!”

With Love, rage, and solidarity,
Philly anarchists and 161s ★

**AGAINST AMAZON AND ITS WORLD:
FOR AN ANTI-AMAZON OLYMPICS**

The following is a call to resist the construction of a new Amazon HQ as well as build solidarity with Amazon workers.

The sum total of all social evil is being concentrated into a single entity: Amazon. The technology giant, with its tremendous logistical and algorithmic powers, is building an unfree world all around us. In the past, colonies were built far away from the Empire. Now, they are constructed in the hearts of city centers, guarded off from the rest of the world. In the coming months, Amazon intends to announce a location for HQ2, its proposed second headquarters. The effects of this operation, in which the world’s richest man would build a \$4B megaplex to facilitate the growth of his delusional science fiction fantasies, would be utterly catastrophic.

We are not interested in compromise, only in a fight. This is a call out to those cities across the country that Amazon is proposing to colonize: Atlanta, Austin, Boston, Chicago, Columbus, Dallas, D.C., Denver, Los Angeles, New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and North Carolina’s Research Triangle, as well as Seattle who already have an Amazon HQ. We propose an Anti-Amazon Olympics to see which city can create the most trouble for Amazon before they announce their verdict.

administers justice when it locks up our friends; but we believe in justice and pursue it.★

RESPONSE

Thank you so much for your response and argument! We receive so little dialogue that it becomes quite exciting when we do.

To reference many of the grandparents of anarchism, without contemporary updates, is to remain in the dusty stacks of some sedentary library. What was offered in last month’s article was an attempt to invoke something more akin to a fulfilling praxis that fits with the updates to anarchist thought and language that have come in the century or so since those celebrated actors of the past. They laid significant ground work, and I continue to read, reference and respect much of what they did. Much of the previous discussion of morality and guilt was influenced by Nietzsche’s “Genealogy of Morals” (an author that Emma Goldman celebrated, herself), for example, though some of his thoughts on the subject were omitted, negated, or updated, in order for us to address what we see as a tendency in our local scene to sacrifice anarchist principles of solidarity, direct action, and voluntary association, for charity, representation, and forced collectivity.

These principles, along with mutual aid, satisfactorily provide a framework that most anarchisms could use to navigate ethical questions, without imposing the framework of morality – a term that Nietzsche traced the etymology of back to nobility, godliness, and authority. It seems you call for us to “reclaim” something that we never have had a claim on.

Meanwhile, I personally know people here and now that are hampered to the point of inaction by their guilt. They are afraid to speak, let alone pursue their desires. By holding on to certain moral frameworks, they are lulled by ineffective tactics into a sad complacency. We would be hard-pressed to frame those things that they do accomplish as pursuing or realizing anarchy. They’re more often charitable activities that are easily recuperated, if they do not outright reinforce the status quo (e.g. housing cooperatives and feeding the homeless). I have seen those very anarchists favor caring for and supporting people that intend to assimilate into the prevailing order, rather than look after their comrades who intend to challenge it.

Your claims of people using guilt to the contrary is dubious, and your history subjective. You omit important anarchist thinkers and doers of the same time period while speaking on behalf of an entire nation of anarchist in 1930s Spain – I don’t think the large-scale execution of clergy there could be framed as an entirely moral endeavor, even if you tried.

Those anarchists that did speak of morality favorably at the turn of the 20th century likely did so for lack of other popularly understood words that spoke to their aims of

equality and fraternity. Some of these anarchists, if they had lived 100 years later, would likely use different terms – like ethics, perhaps – that can be seen in many anarchist texts that have been penned during and since the origins of anarchist thought. Some, however, would continue to insist that everyone adopt a basic set of rules to govern interactions, as moralizing anarchists do today. These civil anarchists are the ones most likely to treat anarchism as a religion, advocating sacrifice for some distant post-revolutionary utopia/heaven, intending to impose on others’ freedom if someone’s desires differ from their own.

Moral frameworks, which are derived from religion, do not factor in the nuance of each circumstance, but instead make blanket statements about generalities. Justice is the enforcing of those rules, and cannot be realized otherwise in a world that is so unjust, partial, and unfair; and I know of no other world. Even ethics, when prescriptive rather than personal, can serve the same purpose of authoritarian control under the guise of a more advanced or scientifically derived philosophy, offering punishment for those that don’t obey socially imposed standards. Something akin to Bonanno’s fear that prison abolitionists intend to just replace the current prisons with medical internment.

I agree that complex societies require something to that effect to maintain order, which is why I have elsewhere argued against mass society. You can’t be free in expansive societies, and I find a great deal of common ground with the so-called “anti-social” tendency in anarchism for this reason. Those anarchists you reference don’t seem to have a criticism of mass society, which may be a large part of our disconnect. Like Thoreau, I find simplicity a means to freedom and happiness.

I also don’t care to dilute my language to the lowest-common denominator, as I suggested some of those classic writers and orators might have done around the subject of morality, for I intend not to mince words. Again we might be at disconnect since I don’t care for movement building or developing mass struggle. I intend to find affinity with those that were not led to these conclusions, and to hone our intentions according to our desires. Because it’s not about being right or wrong, it’s about liberating desire.

To “treat others as you want to be treated” is really just logic – actions create equal and opposite reactions. And if you don’t, to quote Daniel Quinn, “give as good as you get” when treated poorly, you stand to have an authority impose its will upon you, negating your desires, regardless of whether or not you were right. Moral high ground amounts to nothing, most especially when faced with the unconscionable institutions we oppose, if that morality did not already favor the same kind of institutional rule.★



“As for me, I am an ANARCHIST, which means: an AMORALIST.”-Renzo Novatore

WAR OF THE WORDS: ANTIFA

There’s been so much talk of antifa in the news and mainstream, and like all things that pass through the mainstream, antifa has become a very confused and distorted concept in the public eye. Painted as both violent thugs and basement-dwelling crybabies, the state and the right cannot create a stable narrative about what antifa is. Much more useful to them is to create narratives around antifa that further their goals of eroding freedom and controlling and commodifying always more aspects of life.

Before jumping into how misconstrued ideas of antifa are used to clamp down on freedom and rebellion, it’s useful to quickly go over what antifa is. Antifa is short for anti-fascism, and sometimes used to mean anti-fascist action. Antifa groups autonomously oppose fascists and far-right groups, using a “no platform” approach to disrupt the spread of fascist ideas and to prevent the normalization of fascism. Additionally, antifa groups can engage in any kind of anti-fascist activity, from teaching anti-racist values, supporting a targeted minority group, publishing information about known racists, etc. The main work antifa groups undertake is disrupting fascist activity, nothing more, nothing less.

When the state faces problems from the population it works to subjugate, its first interest is to identify the rebellious elements of that population and isolate them. The identification doesn’t even need to be correct, as long as one part of the population is depicted as peaceful and law-abiding, while a minority group is criminalized. This divide-and-repress approach has been used by police and politicians for centuries to sow distrust and grow a culture of snitching in oppressed populations. Creating an enemy within the population is how the state ensures it is always the hero when it later clamps down on the population it purports to serve.

The state and the right have taken the word antifa and applied it to as many types of rebellion as they can shake a nightstick at. From anti-capitalist vandals, community activists, sports fans, pro-choice feminists, to almost anyone opposed to racism, the narrative being pushed is that all these people are antifa, and that antifa is criminal and violent. This naming lays the ground work for criminalization and social isolation. The wide net being cast also takes a bunch of different and diverse groups of people and flattens them into one thing, “antifa.” Of course some antifa are sports fans, vandals, feminists, and activists, but these differences are erased when the only label that matters is the one that makes repression easier.

In Turkey, when the state attempted to divide a rebellious social movement by naming some participants looters, the movement responded by identifying with the term. The Turkish word “capulcu” quickly became a term of

self-identification, causing it to lose its ability to isolate those the state saw as “bad protesters”.

This approach might not work for the word antifa. Because antifa already has a specific political meaning, a mass self-identification will water down the meaning and lead to more and more liberal actions and actors being called antifa. What approaches can be used to counter the narratives of the state and the right to mis-label and criminalize any opposition to the status quo? How can anti-fascists turn this confused representation into an advantage? How can those who oppose authority make themselves understood by potential rebels without losing their edge? ★



[“Gun Control” cont. from pg. 1]

occurred without guns). Still, it is of note in that “the first mass shooter” murdered 13 people and wounded 3 with only a pistol, and not anything resembling the AR-15 that has been so focused on lately. More to the point, mass killings preceded the existence of semi-automatic weapons and largely targeted non-white people.

It was only when non-white people picked up the gun to defend themselves that gun control became a popular political stance. Some of the less-remembered gun control advocates of the past include a post-Civil War Ku Klux Klan, the National Rifle Association, and California Governor Ronald Reagan, who sought to prevent Black Panthers from carrying loaded rifles while patrolling their neighborhoods or protesting at government buildings. Before Reagan signed the bill that outlawed such practices, there were reported occurrences of Black Panthers avoiding unjustified arrest and murder when white police stopped and harassed them on the street by being armed. Presumably, little has changed from the legal lynchings of the past except that the police have less to fear from civilian elements, as they continue to be criminalized and othered without the fear of return fire as reprisal. Shootings of police in Camden, NJ and upstate PA, which occurred last year after police approached young men, have even been described as self-defense because the police have been known to shoot people with similar profiles for little or nothing in other situations, often to be exonerated for their transgressions later. Gun control has historically sought to keep guns out of the hands of black and brown folks, when it is clear that a gun in hand could keep them alive.

While sympathies lie with those trying to reduce violence in their inner city communities through gun control, it still fails to address the problem. Inner city violence often pits the most marginalized against each other, in attempts to overcome

now on the table for the first time in many years. This is notable because authorities are only discussing restricting immigration from majority non-white countries, and further indicates that the primary motivation on issues of immigration, on the part of both the Trump administration and his grassroots supporters, is to keep the U.S. a majority-white nation-state.

The U.S. is heightening its borderline-fascist state polices, and Democrats have shown they will go along with anything when the stability of the federal government is at stake. Regardless of individual lawmakers’ reasons for their decisions — the inner workings of which are nearly impossible for lowly plebian commentators like ourselves to know anyway — both political parties now seem willing to toe the line between so-called democracy and fascism in order to deal with the escalating crisis of capitalism and the accompanying threat of mass uprisings.

Because the state’s function is to unify civil society in such a way that preserves the economic system, fascism is not a subversion of capital, but a tendency that, like representative democracy, the state can turn to so as to maintain order. Historically, signs of a crisis in the state’s ability to maintain social cohesion have included an inability by democratic states to impose order after waves of revolts had been snuffed out, continual governmental crises, and imaginary plots against the nation. As with the current U.S. administration, states often respond to such crises by inventing an internal enemy and deflecting domestic conflicts by pursuing militaristic projects abroad.

The current crisis of capital requires a consolidation of force in the hands of the federal government, which either instating a dictatorship or pursuing more modest proto-fascist measures can accomplish. As in Spain, Germany, and Italy in the first half of the last century, economic misery and the rebellions it has produced in the U.S. are currently being channeled into anti-fascism, on one side (which tends to deprive revolutionary tendencies of their original anti-capitalist content) and grassroots fascism that rallies to consolidate the current administration. Meanwhile, Trump’s administration continues to accumulate resources for its police and military forces, fortify its borders, blame migrants and radicals, mysteriously kill off or deport black and brown rebels and activists, and

threaten large-scale warfare abroad.

As economic theorist Gilles Dauvé noted in 1998, “An essential aspect of fascism is its birth in the streets, its use of disorder to impose order, its mobilization of the old middle classes crazed by their own decline, and its regeneration, from without, of a state unable to deal with the crisis of capitalism. Fascism was an effort of the bourgeoisie to forcibly tame its own contradictions, to turn working class methods of mobilization to its own advantage, and to deploy all the resources of the modern state, first against an internal enemy, then against an external one” (Endnotes Vol. I, 23-24).

Fascism, then, is a way of channeling discontent and hostilities into a consolidation of the status quo when democracy is no longer able to do so. Fascism, or proto-fascist governance like what we’re currently seeing in the U.S., historically has thrived off of grassroots support that mimics revolution, while drawing anti-capitalist tendencies into a “popular front” approach that gives control back to more liberal agents and institutions and no longer threatens to totally transform the miserable conditions of our lives.

Many radicals and progressives recognize that there’s a rupture in U.S. society and have in response called for rebuilding democratic power — for example, as Bernie Sanders and the Democratic Socialists of America have done. This mass movement strategy should be avoided, as it is another way of rebuilding the social unity that capital needs.

Pursuing false alliances with those who want to defuse hostilities and reform the socioeconomic system will not help us get free. The ruptures and antagonisms within this society are what the state is straining to reconcile because they threaten capitalism — they are serious disadvantages for capital, and thus advantages for us. In the face of the state’s white supremacist maneuvers, we can try various short-term strategies depending on our inclinations — for example, looking out for those who will first be targeted, helping people cross the border, or attacking agencies like ICE and impeding their ability to function. But ultimately it is the borders, and capital along with it, that must go. ★



Chingona Migra RESIST ICE

[“Of Iron Fists...” cont. from pg. 1]

state and its openly white nationalist presidential administration is set to move forward. Hundreds of thousands of people of color in the United States are facing the threat of deportation. In January, the government ended Temporary Protected Status for Salvadoreans, Haitians and Nicaraguans. DACA, which protects 690,000 people, expires on March 5.

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) removed 226,000 people from the country in the 2017 fiscal year, a slight decrease from Obama’s record last year because of Trump’s enhancements to border security. ICE’s immigration arrests are up by 42%, however. At least 8% of the approximately 110,000 arrests are “collateral arrests,” i.e. other people that the agency finds and kidnaps along the way while arresting an intended target.

ICE has specifically targeted migrants who are leading activist resistance to U.S. immigration policy. In early January, ICE suddenly detained and

deported Ravi Ragbir, the executive director of the New Sanctuary Coalition of New York City. This was the second arrest in one week by ICE of a leader in that coalition. Despite New York being a sanctuary city whose Democratic mayor has pledged safety for migrants, the NYPD colluded with ICE to arrest 18 people who attempted to stop the ICE vehicle from carrying away Ragbir.

Though the government has usually tried to excuse deportations by blaming migrants for their “criminal” records and going after low-income people, ICE arrests have now also started to target non-white American residents regardless of how much time they’ve spent in the country, their lack of criminal history, or their class position. In January, ICE kidnapped Syed Ahmed Jamal, a chemistry professor who has lived in the U.S. for 30 years, outside his home, and deported Amer Adi Othman, a Youngstown, Ohio business owner who had lived in the U.S. for nearly 40 years.

Taking measures to limit legal immigration is also

the violence of poverty thrust upon them. The logic of capital, after all, being that one must conquer others in order to move up in the economic strata. As such, one cannot end inner city violence without abolishing capital, as hierarchies (and poverty) are necessary to its operation, as it institutionally brings down violence from the upper echelons onto the lower.

This is why elements of left and anarchist circles have recently renewed advocacy for arming of marginalized peoples, in addition to bringing up concerns regarding civil war with conservative elements that tend to be better armed and more familiar with weaponry. The same conservative element that has been doing research on the best “truck gun” with which to “defend” themselves against protesters who tend to disrupt traffic, as was written about in a recent issue of Guns & Ammo magazine. The same political associates of white supremacist organizations that are currently calling for armed escalations and lone-wolf murders of their opposition – organizations of which many mass shooters have been members. This, again, in a country where the first machine gun, invented by Richard Gatling, was created to deal with anarchists and other dissenters. There is no need for romanticization of armed conflict and related imagery, but there is a real need to know how to defend ourselves from the threats we face. And the threats we face include murderous white supremacists, governments, and even gun manufacturers, who favor disarming and killing dissenters whenever they can get away with it – indeed there is significant historical precedent from Haymarket, to massacres of striking workers and their families, to the biased trials and execution of “reds.”

Yet none of this gets down to perhaps the most significant contributing factor to an increasingly violent society – the continued alienation by and violence of civilization at large. The division of labor, especially along gendered lines, and the creation of private property that resulted from the agrarian revolution that birthed civilization marked a notable development in the existence of hierarchies. Gender and racial divisions might not exist on the same level, if at all, without this development. The degradation of the environment, our separation from the natural world, and our separation from each other have been steps in a process that have increased rates of depression, anxiety, suicide, in addition to mass shootings. The New York Times reported a steady increase of suicides over the last 30 years, with 42,773 recorded in 2014 – not a sign of a healthy society.

In such a society, built on and maintained by violence, any attack on its institutions can be painted by the marginalized as self-defense. But framing the argument is perhaps less interesting than an attack that actually inspires and destabilizes, without the



possibility of recuperation.

Gun control won’t stop the police from murdering people every single day. It won’t stop the military from imperializing and murdering abroad. It makes sure those forces are likely to be the few who have guns. Gun control won’t stop the cycle of violence perpetuated by poverty and authority. Those most prone to suffering violence at the hands of institutional oppressors are the ones whose survival is most inhibited by those measures, including those that intend to dismantle the root causes of those oppressions. The patriarchal and white supremacist entitlement that empowers both individual and group “mass shooters” can only be halted after the toppling of institutions that teach them they are right (i.e. churches, schools, government). And the alienation that drives people to senselessly murder will only cease after unplugging a civilization that drives us apart, mediating interactions through screens and algorithms, to reconnect with a simpler way of life. ★

FLY EAGLES FLY

It is estimated that in the early 18th century, the bald eagle population was 300,000–500,000, but in the mid-20th century they nearly went extinct – in large part due to the pesticide DDT. The bald eagle population has rebounded since the banning of the pesticide, the increase celebrated as significant, but their numbers as of 2006 amount to less than 7% of their original population.

Human causes are still the primary threats to their lives, with hunting, power-line electrocution, and collisions in flight (e.g. wind turbines) as the leading causes of eagle deaths, and oil, lead, and mercury pollution contributing significantly as well. Wind turbines were credited in 2013 with having contributed to a significant spike in eagle deaths in the previous four years due to the growth of the wind energy industry, the falsely “green” marketing of which has been criticized by some conservationists. That same year, the Obama administration issued a 30-year pass to wind farms that killed the protected species, with a quadrupling of allotted deaths to 4,200 eagles per year.

The almost meaningless monetary fine, along with the callous metric that measures how many eagles may die without driving the species extinct, is only surpassed by the initial proposal that the energy companies would be responsible for monitoring the eagle deaths themselves.

As read the writing that defaced Philly’s patriotic mural of an eagle (which is adjacent to the American flag mural in Northern Liberties, both painted by Mecro/Gloss Black and Evan Lovett) in August, “There is more than one symbol of white supremacy.” Still, white supremacy



contributes to the murder of that very same animal through its settler-colonial entitlement and species conquests. This country has been willfully murdering its own adopted animal symbol for the sake of maintaining an industrial course and growing its economy. This irony, in addition to this society’s other immeasurable violence towards other living beings, perpetuated to bolster and maintain its control, would be full-on psychopathic if those in power had to suffer the blood directly on their hands. Could an appropriate symbol for the collateral damage of empire be a Philadelphia police officer with Nazi affiliations sporting a Third Reich eagle tattoo on his forearm?

As for the recent Eagles-related rioting here in Philly, the policing of those sports riots contrasted with the policing of protests, especially against white supremacy, was extremely disparate. That does not mean that sports riots are not opportunities for upheaval. The disparity also seems to stem less from racial demographics, as the recent Superbowl riot was definitely not a “white riot,” but rather from the fact that the scale of the disorder was so beyond the scope of the local police force’s control. Shouldn’t we strive to regularly become so uncontrollable, to sustain riots and other asymmetric tactics that are so difficult to police beyond the scope of any institutional control? To instead criticize the policing of these situations seems like jealousy and a call for more policing.

There is beauty in the image of an eagle attacking a patriot, and to call any industrial practice “green” is a contradiction in terms. So, let’s explore the possibility of a wild, undomesticated, uncontrollable revolt that tears down every bit of the structures that are killing us all. ★